7: Shklovsky --205 T-3 (1891-92)1916 Yakut
116, 174, 61

"The Russians discovered the River Lena in 1628. Ten bold fellows, under the leadership of Vassili Bougor, travelled on skis from the Yenisei to this greatest of the north rivers, on the banks of which 150,000 Yakuts lived. The savages were divided into nine Oulooss (tribes) and each tribe into several clans or families. It must be remembered that the Yakuts brought with them from Lake Baikal traces of a rather higher civilisation; nevertheless, these ten bold adventurers managed to subdue this great people. All the ten were traders. In 1636 Captain B. came to the Lena and established stockaded settlements."

16: Great Britain Admiralty -- 164 [2] G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 621, 61

" They are divided into uluses, naslegs, and aga-usa (clans). [RCH: the aga-usa are patrilinear sibs; the naslegs are phratries; and the uluses are sub-tribes] Over the ulus, the biggest division, presides the golovà with an upravà, a kind of police court; several naslegs go to make up the ulus: they are administered by a district council under a district elder called kujas. The nasleg consists of from one to thirty clans, the clan sometimes being composed of a few individuals, sometimes of several hundreds. The council of elders of the clan, which used to decide all legal and economic questions was called ogonyor. "

19: Kharuzin -- 38 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 594, 61

At the present time the so-called "great" families are but very rarely encountered among the Yakuts; sons usually separate (split off) after marriage and upon coming of age. Despite the fact that the type of the individual, i. e., "small" family, thus appears characteristic for the comtemporary familial-household structure of the Yakuts of the Yakutsk district, the clan structure must by no means be counted in the number of completely vanished phenomena. In addition to the known division of the Yakuts into ūlūsi and naslegi, a division which one of the best investigators of Yakut life, M. Sieroszewski, does not recognize as indigenous to the Yakuts, the native population of the Yakutsk district, as in other localities of the region, continues to retain the ancient division into clans--aga-usa (the paternal clan), resolving itself into 4-8 īya-ūsa. This latter term M. Pripuzov translates by the word "tribe"; M. Sieroszewski, who, as far as we know, was the first to turn his attention to the īya-ūsa, has observed that īya-ūsa (īye-ūsa) has the exact meaning of "maternal clan," has described the significance that the latter has in the contemporary clan division of the Yakuts, and has set forth a hypothesis concerning the origin of the "maternal clan" among the Yakuts. (1)

1. Sieroszewski, Jakuti [Yakuts] p. 506 ff.

At the present time, relationship within the limits of the iye-usa is traced through the male line, and M. Sieroszewski makes the extremely likely guess that the division of the paternal clan into several maternal clans is a natural consequence of the polygamy that was once practiced among the Yakuts. Monogamous marriage took a firm hold among the Yakuts only at the beginning of the 19th century. (2) The aga-ūsa included all the

2. V. Jochelson, see Zhivaia Starina, 1895, II, 137.

descendants taking their descent from one father, while each īye-ūsa included only the issue of one of his wives. The supposition of M. Sieroszewski has a great deal of verisimilitude. [39] In reality, however, where polygamy leads to the above-mentioned division of the paternal clan into several maternal clans, it only plays the role of a factor supporting in life the reckoning of relationship through the female line, and not the reason which gave rise to it: only upon the basis of an already existing custom of reckoning relationship through the wife's line can the maternal clan arise, either as an independent organization, or as a sub-grouping of the paternal clan. Consequently, however the īye-ūsa may have arisen among the Yakuts, its existence must be in fact regarded as a proof that there once existed among the Yakuts the custom of determining relationship through the wife's line, the recollection of an epoch when the bonds uniting

child and father were not yet taken into account. The fact cited by M. Sieroszewski, that according to tradition many paternal clans (aga-ūsa) and even entire naslegi, took their designation from women, strengthens this supposition. The chief significance in the contemporary structure of the Yakuts, however, attaches to the aga-ūsa, the paternal clan.